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411 [773] [774] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 [428] The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 [562] [177] The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[756] [793] [692]

59 [591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 628 [476] Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

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/33/

304 757 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 171 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness, as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions [114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

• 756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola heri), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 791 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity [206] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/335 cont./

755 757 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used internally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 756 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

119 755 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 [378] The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery. Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ̃) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kŭ̃djŭ̃) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĭ̃ or wŏ̃lĭsõ̃tĭ̃), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kuriĭ́'s statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they